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Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 045339

FOL BELGRADE 1372 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BERLIN BONN
BUCHAREST BUDAPEST LONDON MOSCOW PARIS PRAGUE ROME SOFIA
WARSAW USNATO USBERLIN GENEVA USIA WASHDC USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR FEB 21, 1978 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 1372

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 20, 1978

SUMMARY: BELGRADE CONFERENCE BEGAN TO SPEAK THE HITHERTO
UNSPEAKABLE. AFTER ANOTHER WRANGLE OVER SCHEDULING OF MEETINGS,
CIRCULATION OF A GDR NON-PAPER PURPORTING TO BE A SYNOPSIS OF AGREED
ELEMENTS OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BUT CONTAINING NO CONCESSIONS,
AND ANOTHER HARD LINE SOVIET PLENARY STATEMENT, SWISS
REP BROACHED IDEA OF A SHORT, ESSENTIALLLY NON-
SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. EAST SHOWED GREAT
INTEREST; SEVERAL WESTERN DELS SAID IDEA WOULD HAVE TO
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BE WEIGHED CAREFULLY, AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) AND ROMANIA
SAID HOPE FOR SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT SHOULD NOT BE ABANDONED.
CONCEPT NOW APPEARS TO BE LEGITIMATE TOPIC FOR CONFERENCE
DISCUSSION, AND NATO CAUCUS SUBSEQUENTLY AGREED TO HAVE ITS
DRAFTING GROUP WORK ON IDEAS FOR HOW SUCH A DOCUMENT MIGHT LOOK.
ALLIES STILL EXPECT TO TABLE COMMON WESTERN DRAFT CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT FEBRUARY 21, HOWEVER, AND FOR TIME BEING TO MAINTAIN POSITIO
N
IN CONFERENCE THAT WE HOPE IT WILL YET PROVE POSSIBLE TO DRAW
SOVIETS INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY.

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1. WEEKEND AND FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY 20 WERE TAKEN UP WITH
ABORTIVE EFFORTS TO SOLVE BOTH THE BIG AND THE LITTLE PROBLEMS
DEADLOCKING CONFERENCE. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG, AFTER ADVISING NATO
CAUCUS, BREAKFASTED WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV FEBRUARY 18
TO PROBE SOVIET POSITION. VORONTSOV INDICATED THAT SOVIETS WOULD
BE WILLINGTO MEET AT HEADS OF DELEGATION LEVEL IN SMALL CONTACT
&4970 59 546 59 *8,$ 2-6 975 9* :9,:)7$8,& $9:7.3,5 8.0- 3.
PROPOSED COMPOSITION WAS US AND EC-9 PRESIDENT DENMARK; SOVIETS
AND HUNGARY; SWITZERLAND AND YUGOSLAVIA. AFTER INDICATING INITIAL
INTEREST, HOWEVER, YUGOSLAVS BACKED OUT SAYING THAT THEY HAD TAKEN
PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS WITH SOVIETS AND CONCLUDED THAT THEY WOULD
SHOW NO ADDITIONAL FLEXIBILITY IN SMALL GROUP. VORONTSOV
SHOWED RENEWED INTEREST IN CONSTITUTING INFORMAL GROUP
EARLY FEBRUARY 20, BUT COMMENTS FROM AMBASSADOR PESIC AND OTHER
MEMBERS OF YUGOSLAV DEL SUGGEST THAT YUGOSLAVS ARE SENSITIVE
ABOUT BEING IN POSITION WHERE SMALL NUMBER OF DELS MIGHT PUT
PRESSURE ON THEM TO ACCEPT A SHORT DOCUMENT. THEY SUGGESTED THAT
DELS WHO DESIRE SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT SIMPLY DEMONSTRATE TO
SOVIETS A WILLINGNESS TO OUTSIT THEM. WE HAVE ASSURED BOTH
YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS, WHO ALSO INQUIRED, THAT THERE IS NO
US-SOVIET DEAL ON A SHORT DOCUMENT AND THAT WE CONTINUE TO PREFER
SUBSTANTIVELY MEANINGFUL TEXT.
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2. INFORMAL CONTACTS OVER WEEKEND ALSO FAILED TO PRODUCE
AGREEMENT ON NEW WORK PROGRAM (PREVIOUS PROGRAM EXPIRED FEBRUARY 17).
SOVIETS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON A SCHEDULE THAT WOULD INCLUDE MEETINGS
NEXT WEEKEND AND THAT WAS CLEARLY DESIGNED TO END MEETING THIS
WEEK OR EARLY NEXT. AFTER LONG "COFFEE BREAK" THIS MORNING,
PLENARY FINALLY AGREED ON COMPROMISE WORK PROGRAM CALLING FOR
MORNING AND AFTERNOON PLENARIES THROUGH WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22,
INCLUDING ONE MEETING EACH DEVOTED TO MEDITERRANEAN AND FOLLOW-UP.
SOVIETS HAVE MADE IT APPARENT, HOWEVER, THAT ON FEBRUARY 22 THEY WILL
PRESS ALL THE HARDER FOR A WRAP-UP SCHEDULE.
FTERNOON PLENARY WAS BRIEFLY TITILLATED BY REPORT THAT GDR WOULD
CIRCULATE AS NON-PAPER A NEW "SYNTHESIS" PROPOSAL FOR A CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT. WHEN TEXT APPEARED, HOWEVER, IT PROVED TO BE OLD-HAT. A
FEW EASTERN PROPOSALS SUCH AS THAT FOR SPECIAL SECURITY
CONSULTATIONS HAD ROPPED OUT, BUT MOST OF WHAT REMAINED IN TEN PAGE
DOCUMENT WAS EITHER BITS AND PIECES FROM COMMITTEE NOTEBOOKS OR
PASSAGES OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE FROM SOVIET PAPER THAT FRENCH, IN
THEIR EFFORT TO FORMULATE A COMPROMISE, HAD PUT INTO THEIR DRAFT.
THERE WERE NO CONCESSIONS WHATSOEVER TO BASIC WESTERN POSITIONS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN CONTACTS, ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL, AND ASSESSMENT
OF IMPLEMENTATION, OR FOR THAT MATTER ON CBMS.

4. VORONTSOV SUGGESTED THAT GRD PAPER WAS SUBSTANTIAL COMPROMISE
BECAUSE EAST HAD OFFERED IN EFFECT TO DROP SOME OF ITS PROPOSALS.
HE URGED DELS NOW TO STATE CLEARLY WHAT OTHER PROPOSALS COULD NOT
RECEIVE CONSENSUS, TO DROP THESE FROM DOCUMENT AND TO PROCEED
QUICKLY TO CLOSE OF MEETING. SWISS REP THEN SURPRISED HIS NNA

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COLLEAGUES BY SAYING THAT TIME FOR FRANK TALKING HAD ARRIVED. NNA INITIATIVE WAS NOT SUCCEEDING BECAUSE SOVIETS HAD MADE CLEAR THEY WOULD DENY CONSENSUS TO ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS. HE SAID GDR PAPER WAS WRONG WAY TO GO BECAUSE IT WAS UNBALANCED, APPEARED SUBSTANTIVE BUT IGNORED MAJOR CONCERNS OF MANY DELS. ONLY ALTERNATIVE LEFT, HE SAID, WOULD BE TO SLICE AWAY PURPORTEDLY SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE AND GO DOWN TO BARE BONES DOCUMENT OF 2-3 PAGES THAT WOULD INCLUDE FACTUAL
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LANGUAGE, A BRIEF RECONFIRMATION OF RESOLVE TO IMPLEMENT ALL PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT, ESTABLISHMENT OF A "FEW" EXPERTS GROUPS, AND COMMITMENT TO MADRID MEETING.

5. WESTERN SPEAKERS RESPONDED CAUTIOUSLY. NORWEGIAN AND ANISH REPS, FOR EXAMPLE, SAID SWISS IDEA WAS SERIOUS PROPOSAL COMING AT SERIOUS TIME THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED CAREFULLY, US REP REPEATED US INTEREST IN NEGOTIATING SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ON BASIS OF ALL PROPOSALS BEFORE CONFERENCE. EASTERN REPS, AFTER VORONTSOV'S DEPUTY HAD MADE A QUICK TOUR OF ROOM PRESUMABLY TO PASS INSTRUCTIONS, RESPONDED FAVORABLY, STRESSING THAT TIME HAD COME TO ACT REALISTICALLY TO BRING MEETING TO SUCCESSFUL AND OPTIMISTIC CLOSE AND TAT SWISS REP SEEMED TO SEE SITUATION CLEARLY.

6. NNA REACTION AT PLENARY AND LATER PRIVATE COMMENTS SUGGESTED THAT SWISS REP HAD NOT CLEARED REMARKS WITH NNA CAUCUS. MOST KEPT SILENT. YUGOSLAV REP AGREED THAT NNA PAPER WAS NOT PRODUCING NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE "POLITICAL WILL IS LACKING." HE SAID SITUATION WAS NOT HOPELESS, HOWEVER, AND HIS DEL CONTINED TO INSIST ON POLITICAL DOCUMENT THOUGH LENGTH WAS NOT IMPORTANT. MALTESE REP ALSO URGED CONFERENCE NOT TO ABANDON EFFORT FOR SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT. IN TOUGHEST RESPONSE, ROMANIAN REP SAID HIS DEL "REFUSED TO ENVISAGE A COMMUNIQUE"WHICH WOULD RISK UNRAVELLING FABRIC OF FINAL ACT, AND WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN "EUTHANASIA." ROMANIAN REP ALSO HINTED, HOWEVER, THAT A SATISFACTORILY POLITICAL DOCUMENT COULD BE RELATIVELY SHORT AND GENERAL.

7. ALLIED AMBASSADORS AGREED AT LENGTHY NATO EVENING CAUCUS THAT SWISS REP'S REMARKS HAD PROBABLY BROKEN DAM AND THAT INTEREST WOULD NOW FOCUS INCREASINGLY ON PREPARATION OF SOME SORT OF SHORT DOCUMENT. IN EFFECT, "OPTION 1", A TRULY COMPREHENSIVE, SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT SUCH AS ALLIED PREFER, IS
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UNOBTAINABLE, AND IT IS OR SOON WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO TALK ABOUT "OPTION 1", A COMMUNIQUE-LIKE DOCUMENT THAT HAS LITTLE MORE IN IT THAN AGREEMENT TO CARRY ON PROCESS IN MADRID. ALLIED AMBASSADORS RECOGNIZED THAT DANGER WILL BE TO AVOID ALLOWING SUCH A DOCUMENT TO EVOLVE INTO AN "OPTION 3" TEXT, A GRAY AREA,

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LARGELY ANODYNE DOCUMENT THAT CONTAINS FAIR AMOUNT OF GENERAL POLITICAL LANGUAGE BUT NOTHING OF BASIC ALLIED HUMAN RIGHTS OR IMPLEMENTATION REQUIREMENTS. SEVERAL AMBASSADORS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT YUGOSLAV, MALTESE AND ROMANIAN REPS WERE SIGNALLING THT AN OPTION 3 DOCUMENT MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM.

8. NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR URGED ALLIES TO BEGIN OWN CONTINGENCY DRAFTING ALONG LINES OF OPTION 2 TEXT THAT WOULD REAFFIRM COMMITMENT TO FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION IN SINGLE PARAGRAPH, INCLUDE CREATION OF EXPERTS GROUPS FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, SCIENTIFIC FORUM, CBMS AND MEDITERRANEAN, AND MADRID MEETING. HE SAID ALLIES SHOULD SEEK TO END MEETING BY CLOSE OF MONTH TO AVOID STRAINS ON DETENTE AND ALLIANCE. SEVERAL AMBASSADORS POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD BEDIFFICULT TO PRODUCT OPTION 2 TEXT THAT WAS SUFFICIENTLY POLITICAL TO MEET NNA AND ROMANIAN REQUIREMENTS YET SUFFICIENTLY SHORT AND COMMUNIQUE-LIKE FOR ALLIES TO ACCEPT ABSENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS MATERIAL. SEVERAL, INCLUDING UK AND DUTCH, SUGGESTED THAT CBMS AND MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS GROUPS WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY IF THERE WERE NO OTHER SUBSTANTIVE ACHIEVE-MENTS (PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND SCIENTIFIC FORUM ARE, OF COURSE, MANDATED BY FINAL ACT). CAUCUS DECIDED THAT DEPUTIES SHOULD REVIVE THEIR DRAFTING GROUP FEBRUARY 21 IN ORDER TO WORK OUT POSSIBLE CONTINGENCY OPTION 2 PAPER. AMBASSADORS AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT NNA, NOT ALLIES, SHOULD TAKE INITIATIVE FOR ANY OPTION 2 DOCUEMTN, AND ABMASSADORGOLDBERG POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR ALLIES TO CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE TO NNA WILLING-NESS AND PREFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

9. SEVERAL ALLIES, INCLUDING CANADA, BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG, EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IN FAST MOVING SITUATION ALLIES MIGHT LOOK FOOLISH IF WE FILED FEBRUARY 21 OUR DRAFT OF A COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING CONFIDENTIAL

DOCUMENT. CAUCUS AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT ON BALANCE IT REMAINED USEFUL EXERCISE TO MARK OUT, IN PARTICULAR FOR PUBLIC, TYPE OF DOCUMENT THAT ALLIES WORKED FOR AND BELIEVED COULD HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED HAD SOVIETS NEGOTIATED SERIOUSLY. AMBASSADORS CONSIDERED, HOWEVER, THAT DOCUMENT WOULD BE A POSITION PAPER, NOT A SERIOUS NEGOTIATING PROPOSAL, AND WOULD HAVE TO BE DESCRIBED AS SUCH IN CONFERENCE AND TO PRESS. CAUCUS WILL MEET AGAIN FEBRUARY 21 BEFORE TAKING FINAL DECISION, BUT IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT DOCUMENT WILL BE SUMITTED TO AFTERNOON PLENARY WITH COSPONSORSHIP OF US, UK, GREECE, CANADA, FRG, NORWAY, ITALY, NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL, AND DENMARK. TURKEY AND BELGIUM ARE STILL SEEKING APPROVAL OF CAPITALS TO COSPONSOR.

10. FRENCH AMBASSADOR ADVISED CAUCUS THAT BREZHNEV HAS RESPONDED TO GISCARD'S LETTER BY STATING THAT HE SHARED FRENCH PRESIDENT'S CONCERN FOR STATE OF BELGRADE MEETING BUT THAT SOVIETS CAN NOT ACCEPT ANY PROPOSALS TO CHANGE FINAL ACT OR OT LEGITIMIZE INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SINCE THIS IS SAME LINE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN TAKING IN BELGRADE FOR WEEKS, FRENCH CONSIDER

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THAT THEIR INITIATIVE IS, EFFECTIVELY, DEAD.

11. WE ARE REPORTING BY SEPTEL ON CBM CONTACT GROUP MEETING IN WHICH SOVIETS APPEARED TO KILL NNA FEBRUARY 17 EFFORT TO DEVELOP MANDATE FOR A CBMS EXPERTS MEETING. GOLDBERG
UNQUOTE VANCE

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